

Message Text

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SUBJ: TTBT/PNE NEGOTIATIONS FIFTEENTH PLENARY

TTBT/PNE DELEGATION MESSAGE NUMBER FORTY-SEVEN

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF STATEMENT DELEIVERED BY AMBASSADOR
STOESSEL AT MARCH 17, 1975 PLENARY:

BEGIN TEXT: MR. MINISTER, THE SOVIET SIDE HAS ASKED
SEVERAL TIMES FOR THE US REACTION TO THE SOVIET PROPOSAL
ON LIMITATIONS OF EXCAVATION PNES. WE RESPONDED TO THESE
PROPOSALS ON MARCH 10 AND I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE THIS
OPPORTUNITY TO SUMMARIZE OUR VIEWS IN THIS AREA.

OUR PROPOSALS ON EXCAVATION PNES HAVE BEEN STRUCTURED
IN TERMS OF CERTAIN LIMITATIONS, INFORMATION EXCHANGE AND
OBSERVER RIGHTS AND FUNCTIONS WHICH WE BELIEVE WILL GIVE
ADEQUATE ASSURANCE THAT EXCAVATION PNES DO NOT PROVIDE
WEAPONS-RELATED BENEFITS OTHERWISE PRECLUDED OR LIMITED
BY THE TREATY OF JULY 1974. ADDITIONALLY, ANY PNE
AGREEMENT MUST BE CONSISTENT WITH THE LIMITED TEST BAN
TREATY OF 1963. THIS REQUIREMENT IS IN ADDITION TO
AND INDEPENDENT FROM THE RELATIONSHIP OF A PNE AGREEMENT
TO THE TREATY OF JULY 1974.

WE HAVE PROPOSED FOUR SPECIFIC LIMITATIONS ON
EXCAVATION PNES: FIRST, THE AGGREGATE YIELD O ANY
SUBSTANTIALLY SIMULTANEOUS EXCAVATION GROUP EXPLOSION
SHOULD NOT EXCEED 500 KILOTONS. SECOND, THERE SHOULD

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BE AN AGREED LIMIT ON THE MAXIMUM YIELD OF EACH

INDIVIDUAL EXCAVATION EXPLOSION, WHETHER USED ALONE OR AS ONE EXPLOSION IN A GROUP EXPLOSION. THIRD, THAT PORTION OF THE TOTAL YIELD OF ANY EXCAVATION EXPLOSIVE WHICH IS GENERATED BY NUCLEAR FISSION SHOULD NOT EXCEED 0.2 KILOTON. FOURTH, EACH EXPLOSIVE IN AN EXCAVATION PNE SHOULD BE AT A DEPTH, MEASURED IN METERS, OF NOT LESS THAN 30 TIMES THE CUBE ROOT OF ITS YIELD IN KILOTONS.

THE PURPOSES OF INFORMATION EXCHANGE AND OBSERVER RIGHTS AND FUNCTIONS ARE TO AUGMENT NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS IN ORDER TO VERIFY COMPLIANCE WITH THESE LIMITATIONS AND TO ASSURE THAT THE EXCAVATION PROJECT CAN BE RECOGNIZED AS HAVING THE STATED PEACEFUL PURPOSE.

THE DESIGN OF THESE LIMITATIONS AND THE ASSOCIATED ELEMENTS OF INFORMATION EXCHANGE AND OBSERVER RIGHTS AND FUNCTIONS WAS GOVERNED BY A VARIETY OF IMPORTANT FACTORS. IN ADDITION TO THE LIMITATION AND PROVISIONS OF THE TREATY OF JULY 1974, THESE FACTORS INCLUDE:

- THE POTENTIAL FOR EXCAVATION EXPLOSIONS TO BE USED FOR NUCLEAR WEAPONS TEST PURPOSES ALONG WITH THEIR PRIMARY PEACEFUL PURPOSES,

- THE POTENTIAL FOR EXCAVATION EXPLOSIONS TO BE USED AS THE BASIS FOR DEVELOPMENT OF NEW NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

- THE POTENTIAL FOR GROUP EXCAVATION EXPLOSIONS TO PROVIDE AN ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH A CONTAINED NUCLEAR WEAPON TEST MIGHT BE CONDUCTED WITHOUT PRODUCING A DISTINGUISHABLE SEISMIC SIGNAL,

- THE POTENTIAL FOR EXCAVATION EXPLOSIONS TO BE USED FOR NUCLEAR WEAPONS EFFECTS TEST PURPOSES ALONG WITH THEIR PRIMARY PEACEFUL PURPOSES.

IT IS FACTORS OF THIS KIND WHICH WE HAVE ASSESSED IN THE LIGHT OF NUCLEAR WEAPON TECHNOLOGY IN ORDER TO DETERMINE PRACTICAL LIMITATIONS WHICH WOULD CONSTRAIN THE POTENTIAL OF EXCAVATION PNES TO PRODUCE WEAPON-RELATED BENEFITS TO A DEGREE CONSISTENT WITH THE LIMITATION ESTABLISHED IN THE TREATY OF JULY 1974.

IT MAY BE USEFUL TO NOTE AT THIS POINT THAT WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE 0.2 KT FISSION YIELD LIMIT WE
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PROPOSE CANNOT BE VERIFIED WITH PERFECT ACCURACY. HOWEVER, THE VERIFICATION MEASURES WE HAVE PROPOSED WOULD, WE BELIEVE, PROVIDE SUFFICIENT ACCURACY TO GIVE ADEQUATE ASSURANCE TO BOTH SIDES THAT EXCAVATION EXPLOSIVES, WHETHER INDIVIDUAL OR IN A GROUP, HAD BEEN DESIGNED TO THIS STANDARD. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT MISUNDERSTANDING WOULD DERIVE FROM THE UNCERTAINTIES IN THE PRECISION WITH WHICH THIS LIMIT WOULD BE

VERIFIED BY OUR PROPOSED VERIFICATION PROCEDURES.

THE SOVIET SIDE HAS RESPONDED TO SOME OF THESE PROPOSALS MADE BY THE US AND I WILL COMMENT BRIEFLY ON THESE RESPONSES.

YOU HAVE SUGGESTED THAT INDIVIDUAL EXCAVATION EXPLOSIVES BE LIMITED TO A YIELD OF NOT MORE THAN 500 KT. THUS WE AGREE IN PRINCIPLE THAT THERE SHOULD BE SOME AGREED LIMIT ON THE MAXIMUM YIELD OF AN INDIVIDUAL EXPLOSION. AS I STATED EARLIER, THERE IS A CLEAR RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR LIMITATIONS AND VERIFICATION PROVISIONS AND NUCLEAR WEAPON TECHNOLOGY. IN OUR VIEW, THE SOVIET PROPOSED LIMIT IS TOO HIGH. HOWEVER, BEFORE THE TWO SIDES CAN ARRIVE AT A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE NUMERICAL VALUE FOR THIS LIMIT, WE MUST HAVE A CLEAR EXPRESSION FROM YOU ON THE OTHER LIMITATIONS AND VERIFICATION PROCEDURES WE HAVE PROPOSED.

THE SOVIET SIDE ALSO HAS PROPOSED THAT A LIMITED NUMBER OF EXCAVATION EXPLOSIONS WITH YIELDS ABOVE THE AGREED MAXIMUM LIMIT BE PERMITTED; IN THE US VIEW, NO SUCH EXCEPTIONS TO THE AGREED LIMIT CAN BE ALLOWED.

FINALLY, THE SOVIET VIEW THAT UNLIMITED AGGREGATE YIELDS SHOULD BE PERMITTED IS IN SHARP CONTRAST TO THE US POSITION WHICH CALLS FOR AN UPPER LIMIT OF 500 KT ON SUCH EXPLOSIONS. WE SEE NO WAY TO PRESERVE THE ESSENTIAL LIMITATIONS OF THE TREATY OF JULY 1974, IF THE AGGREGATE YIELD IS COMPLETELY UNLIMITED.

MR. MINISTER, WE HAVE PUT BEFORE YOU FOR YOUR CONSIDERATION AN INTEGRATED SET OF PROPOSALS WHICH ENCOMPASS ALL ASPECTS OF EXCAVATION PNE WHICH NEED TO BE CONSIDERED IN SEEKING AN AGREEMENT TO IMPLEMENT ARTICLE III OF THE TREATY OF JULY 1974. WE AWAIT YOUR SPECIFIC RESPONSES TO ALL OF THESE PROPOSALS.
END TEXT.

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